1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

584 796 354 been plastered and marked somewhat according to the accompanying diagram. About eight o'clock in the evening, as we waited nearby with a group of men, the beat of the drum was heard and we went up to the thornfenced enclosure. Only women were allowed within the

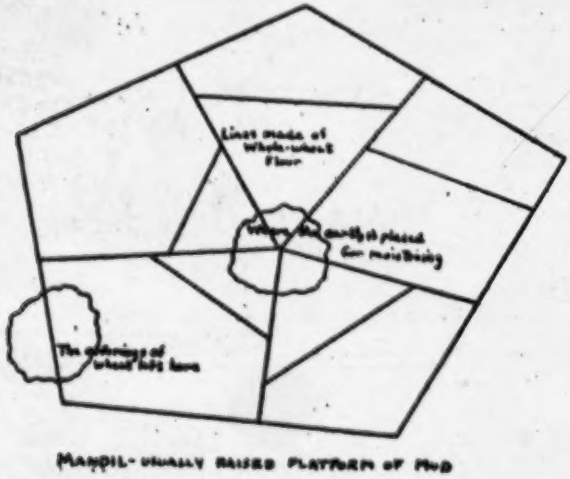
MAGHARMATI - GATHERING EARTH FOR CHULHAS TO PREPARE LAWA.
Lines made of White-wheat Flour
MANDIL - USUALLY RAISED PLATFORM OF MUD

Fig. 19

courtyard, and the men had to remain outside, but a good view was had of the proceedings. The drum was played by a Chamar male, hired for this occasion, who was the only man taking any part in the ceremony. The women and children formed a procession within the [482] courtyard. There were a number of baskets (there should be seven) carried on the heads of unmarried girls, while others carried a pick (*gainti*) and a mattock (*kodali*). The leader and the first in line of the procession should either be the sister of the bride or her *phuphi*, her father's sister. On her head was an earthen jar like a brass *lota* (some- [482] times the latter may be used) which was filled with water and into which were inserted mango twigs with the leaves attached. On the top of this rested an earthen lamp, *dip*. Figure 20 shows how this [523 was carried. With this light on her head she led the way to the place 539] where the earth was dug up and they sang as they proceeded. Some of the songs which were sung at Deosori in the Kaimurs are as follows:

l:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

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[482]

THE LEADER OF THE MANGARMĀṬĪ PROCESSION

Fig. 20

1. *Lanka gaye Hanuman,*
Rama Lakshman ghar aye.
To Lanka far went Hanuman,
Then Ram and Lakshman came home.

2. *Mati khodain gai,*
Bichhi marisa haya daiya haya;
Mati khodain gai, bisa le bahu.
Ho daiya ho, Ho daiya ho, Ho daiya ho.

The clay was dug,
I was bitten by a scorpion—
Alas, Alas!

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

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The clay was dug,
It poisoned me much—
Alas, Alas, Alas!

3. *Pate par bi jhiliya,*
Jhilmiliya pan.
Char Char bandra,
Ghi, roti, dei.

She stands on a rock by the lake
Her lips are shining with *pan.*
(And she says) "Come along monkey
I shall give you buttered bread."

4. *Sari dekh ke gaya sasurar,*
Aur sarhaj dekh ke lubhaya

Sari dekh ke gaya sasuriya
Dhan dekh ke lubhaya.

He went to his father-in-law's abode,
Drawn by the beauty of the bride's own sister.
But there he fell in love with the wife of the bride's brother.

Again he journeyed to his father-in-law's abode
Tempted by the beauty of the bride's own sister.
But this time he fell for the wealth of his father-in-law.

All but the first song are really directed at the bride to be, and there are certain implications not always easy to understand. In the second one the idea comes out that the girl even at the *mangarmati* time is liable to be smitten by love enroute to her digging. The third refers to the plight of a young girl caught alone, perhaps, with a tempting mouth, and a vague promise for the future. In the last song the bride is taunted with a song which implies that her lover has not really come because of her. In fact, she has no attraction for him, for it is her married sister, or her sister-in-law or the father-in-law's wealth that really draws him.

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As these songs were sung the party moved slowly forward to the spot where they were to dig; in this case it happened to be not more than seventy-five feet from the house. Upon reaching the spot they formed

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

The bride and the bridegroom are now conducted to the *marhwa*, and the latter is seated on the low wooden stool while the former sits either on a small mat of *palasa* leaves or on a low square made of mud and cow dung on his left. The *pandit* reads some sacred words, (supposedly from the Vedas) and as he does so the couple is instructed to throw *ghi* and rice coloured with *haldi* into the sacred fire. Each time the fire blazes up the priest utters the words *swaha, swaha*, meaning 'accepted', 'accepted'. This is really a *hom* offering. The *lagan* is sometimes read again at this stage. [585] [352 516] [782]

The couple are asked to stand together, the girl being on the left of the boy. Some of the *sendur* is passed to him which he, with a silver coin, applies to the girl's forehead. As they stand there the *pandit* makes them promise to forgive each other at least seven times during their married life. After the promise the ends of their clothes are tied together, usually by the girl's sister. Into the knot that joins the two should be put a *takka* (a two-pice coin), some *haldi* and bits of a *supari* nut. Then begins the *bhanwar* or circumambulation of the bride and bridegroom about the sacred pole. If the couple are too young to live together and the marriage is not to be immediately consummated by her going to his house, there will be but five rounds of the *magrohan* For four of the five rounds the boy walks ahead, and the wife, the ends of the clothes still tied, follows, but on the fifth round the girl precedes the boy. The fire and pole are always kept to their right and they move round them in a clockwise direction. After the completion of each round they stop and the girl puts her right foot on the *sil* (the flat stone used for grinding spices). While she stands thus her brother or a representative makes a round of the pole with the *barain* containing the remainder of the *lawa*.

After the five rounds are completed (there would have been seven had the couple been old enough to live together) the two, still tied together, retire into the house, the girl leading the way. The women in a jesting manner attempt to bar their entrance and the pair have to force their way through. Rude songs and jokes of a sexual nature are now in order. Members of both parties have been given some of the seven handfuls of *lawa* kept in the booth and this is thrown upon the couple. Inside the house a lamp (*dip*) has been left under a basket, thus giving but little light to the room. The girl's mother asks the boy to take up the basket and blow out the light. He does not consent to do this until he receives a gift from his mother-in-law. Sometimes the challenge is for him to light a second lamp from the first. When he gets the desired gift he takes off the basket, but does not blow out the light. When this is done the knot is untied and his *maur* [522] [533] [831] [354] [43] [606]

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

585 follow the *sadi*, but more often a period of several years separates the
[582] two. The girl should be between ten and twelve and the boy between twelve and fifteen before the *gauna* ceremony can be performed. The exact time depends upon the *pandit* and upon auspicious days and seasons.

When the time for the *gauna* has come a large party carrying the bridegroom in a *palki* leaves the boy's home much in the same manner as they departed for the *sadi*. The boy's party is once more welcomed but the ceremony is not quite so elaborate as it was before. On the second night the Brahmin may be called in, though not always, and the remaining two circumambulations (*bhanwars*) of the fire are made. This time, however, there is no *marhwa* nor *magrohan*. The
[237] place where the final ceremony is performed is simply plastered and in the centre of the spot is set up a low mound made of cow dung; beside it is placed a *kachha kalsa* (an earthen pot not yet fired), on top of which is a brass plate containing (1) a *dip* burning with *ghi*, (2) *sendur* paste, and (3) a whole cocoanut. The couple are tied together as before and go round the fire twice, thus completing the seven rounds
[574] in all. This makes the marriage *pakka* and the final ceremony is
[533] followed by feasting, singing and dancing which last the rest of the
535 night.

Sometime during the next day the couple depart for the boy's home. They are tied together and seat themselves in the same *palki* which the bearers carry a few yards and then set down while the knot is untied and the bridegroom gets out leaving the *palki* for the bride. He either gets into another one or joins the party on foot. Just before this party, which now consists of the group that went with him, reinforced by men from the girl's home, arrives at the boy's house the *palki* is set down, the boy again gets into it, and the knot is once more tied. *Haldi* water is sprinkled over them and pice are waved over the bearers who are again presented with the coins. Upon arriving at the house the couple find a new cloth five yards long and a yard wide spread on the ground leading from the path to the door of the groom's house and at one end of this the *palki* is put down. As the bride is about to get out she is presented with a tray of balls made of water and whole wheat flour. At each step she must deposit one on the cloth at her feet. Her husband follows, for he is still tied to her and as he comes he must pick up the balls and put them into a small *thali* (tray). Inside the house the knot is untied for the last time.
[262] From the *palki* the women bring a seer or two of uncooked rice along with a few other supplies including pulse, which the bride had brought with her in order that she might prepare a dish known as *khichri*, a

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

(3) Earthly King—"whoever he may be." 776

And a fourth:

(1) Bhagawan.
(2) Bhanmati—(meaning Bhagavati).
(3) Kalka of the "Seven Sisters."
(4) All others who are personally worshipped.

It has been noted that almost without exception the Kols speak of Bhagawan as the highest of all deities. The Supreme Deity of the Munda Tribes of Chota Nagpur is quite uniformly said to be Sing Bonga.[1] Crooke, in his *Tribes and Castes of the North West Provinces and Oudh* noted almost fifty years ago that the Kols knew nothing of Sing Bonga. [711]

This is true of Central India to-day, for Kols have lost any recollection of this name as representing the Supreme Deity. Although Bhagawan is fairly consistently spoken of as the Supreme Being, nevertheless in the life of the Kols he is of small efficacy. He is not likely to pay much attention to Kols and no Kol priest knows how to approach him; only the Brahmins are said to have that ability. Kols have thus no exalted conception of Bhagawan. He is a passive distant Being influenced only by such mediators as Khermai and the like, and even then his actions are thought to be rather unstable and unpredictable. While Kols must without fail make offerings to *devatas* and *devis* yet they never make an offering directly to Bhagawan. If as a last resort an offering should be deemed advisable, a Kol may give a Brahmin a little money and ask him to make an offering and try to influence Bhagawan in his behalf. The very best Kols can do is to sing to Bhagawan. At such a time *bhagat* songs—songs of devotion—are used. Occasionally a *katha* is employed to invoke and praise Bhagawan: a Brahmin is called in and recites sacred stories (*kathas*). This, however, is infrequent among Kols and is practised mostly by higher castes. Again, the *hom* or fire offering, useful on all occasions, may be utilized, and at that time Bhagawan is invoked along with lesser deities. It is the ever-present *devis* who should be taken into account. The first step, according to Kols, is to please them. For example, Khermai, being a mediator between men and the great gods, can influence Bhagawan, but while the latter is more powerful than the *devis* and can overrule them, it is not often that he takes the trouble to do so. [743] 776 782 [533] [538]

Bhagawan is sometimes given the attributes of the lesser *devatas* [753]

[1] Dalton, E. T., *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 190, 192, 193, 141, etc.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

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in this way, all is well; but if they get angry, they will trouble the people who have neglected them.

778

THE HOME SHRINE. Shrines found at the homes are much simpler than the village shrines and are found either inside or just outside the house, or in both places. Those outside the house are placed in the front wall facing the courtyard, and the wall of the house is a part of the shrine. Sometimes a little hole is made in the wall to shelter the *devi* when it rains. These shrines may be dedicated to any of the *devis* mentioned in the preceding pages—Asmanimai, Kalimai, Khermai, Marimai and Shardamai being the most commonly worshipped outside the house. One finds flags above, and also below; the iron trident; black and other kinds of bangles; a *salagrama* stone; *sendur* marks and the like. Iron lashes and strings of beads are not uncommon.

The place reserved within the dwelling for the household goddess, or god is even simpler. There is a niche in the wall from four to six inches above the floor. Within the niche is found a *salagrama* stone [386] or some iron symbol reddened with *sendur*. Vermilion is also daubed on the wall round the niche. The floor space immediately below the [237] deity is plastered with cowdung. A small trident usually leans against the wall at one side of the shrine; there is a *dip* which is [782] lighted at dusk, when the women of the house prostrate themselves before the shrine. As was noted, both kinds of shrines are usually found. If the house is just a hut of branches, and there is no earthen wall, symbols of the deities will be found on the floor in one of the corners. The house shrine is generally called *dewahar* or *dewala*.

787

DEVI POSSESSION. (*Bawa*). The phenomenon of spirit possession is fairly common among certain of the lower classes. The Kols also practise this. The trance occurs before the village shrine and is usually induced only at the time of the *Jawara* festivals, which come at the spring and autumnal equinox. It may be resorted to on other occasions if there seems to be a case of extreme necessity. The actual [533] trance is induced partly by the singing and the beating of drums, at which Kols are so adept. The person seeking the *bawa* takes his place before the *devi* and after a period of concentration and emotion begins to tremble, then shout, beat himself upon the ground, and becomes in appearance a totally different person. During this time he will answer questions put to him by persons seeking guidance, who believe that it is not he that is answering them, but the spirit at that time resident in him. During [151] this period, the one under the possession of the *devi* is practically insen-

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

successful the ceremony. Last of all the whole is covered with a layer of dry grass.

The time for the actual lighting is learned from the Hindu *pandit* who knows horoscopy and can tell it exactly. Theoretically the pile should be lighted at full moon, when the sun and the moon are exactly in opposition. This may occur before sunset, and if so, the pile should be lighted as soon as dusk has fallen. It was to be lighted in the case we investigated at 3 a.m. When the hour has come, all who take part in the festivities gather round the sacred pile with much laughing and vulgar jesting. A cocoanut is usually broken just as the fire is touched off. The fire is lit from burning cow dung cakes; and before touched off, it is carried by the *panda* seven times around the pile which is always kept to his right, so that he goes clockwise about it. The glowing cow dung cakes are then inserted into the wood and grass drawn over it, and the fire begins. One should never blow upon this fire to get it started. It should be fanned, but never blown from the mouth. Now the whole group will circumambulate the fire in a clockwise direction, throwing wheat or other gifts into it. Later on, as the fire dies down, some daring youths may jump over it or run through it. As the group goes about the fire, they shout: "*Hori ha, Hori mata*, take thou this wheat our *Hori mata*." *Hori* is used for *Holi*. Singing is kept up all night, and more wood may be thrown upon the fire.

With the lighting of the fire, the obscenity of this festival is loosened, and may be resorted to all night and the next day. Obscene songs of the *Kabiri* type in which the sexual act is described with appropriate gestures are sung. These are not directed against any particular individual, and no offense should be taken by anyone. A woman may snatch away a bit of the clothes of a man known to her, such as his cap or *pagri* or cloth flung over his shoulder. He must give her a present before he can recover it, and the hat should be filled with *gur* (raw sugar) and sweets before he can get it back. Sexual license is permitted at this time.

Certain prophecies about the coming harvest are made by observing the way the fire burns, the smoke rises, and how it is carried away by the wind.

On the day following liberties of all kinds are taken with people. Dust, mud, dirt, and water coloured red, are thrown over passers-by. Sugar garlands are exchanged and indecent remarks passed. *Kabiri* songs and others celebrating Krishna's love affairs are sung. The more shameless a lowcaste man can be, the more lustily he is cheered by his companions. There is no redress for those insulted on this

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

796 787 The ninth day is the final day of the *Jawara* festival. The greenish-yellowish wheat can now be brought out and something foretold, in the case of the Fall festival, about the coming crop. If the wheat has grown nicely, in spite of the fact that it has been kept indoors, and in addition frequently covered by a basket, it is a sign that there will be a good crop of wheat. If the growth of the *jawara* is poor, the crop will likely be a poor one. The process appears to [789] have an element of magic in it and is used as a method to secure good crops; for the earth is first well manured and then well cared for and watered. Frazer in his series, "The Golden Bough", has found a similar ritual elsewhere which he calls "The Garden of Adonis."[1]

The growing wheat cannot be taken out before the late afternoon. When the time comes to take it out, some animals are sacrificed at the village shrine, there is singing and dancing and probably there will [482] be a *bawa* with Shardamai as the deity possessing the devotee. The procession is formed at the shrine, and the women carry the plants on their heads to the river or tank where the stalks are immersed. [789] The men folk follow a short distance behind and loudly beat their drums to frighten away any evil influences. The women sing songs [533] of the *bhagat* type and there may be some *bawas* as well, and the de- [785] votee has a trident stuck into his tongue or cheek. Upon reaching the place where the wheat will be "cooled", the women enter the water, and wash away the earth from the roots of the plants. The earthenware vessels are thrown away, and the stalks are retained. Most of [431] them, though not all, are brought back and distributed to friends as [627] a mark of goodwill. They receive from others as well as give. All enmities should be healed.

796 574 That evening there is a feast at the village shrine. The Kols gather by *kurhis* and the animals sacrificed are eaten along with other foods; there is more music and songs and perhaps some more *bawas*. Sometimes the animals are not sacrificed until the procession bringing the stalks of wheat, returns from the tank.

796 *Khajleniya*. This is another term for the Jawara festival and refers especially to the activities of the ninth day, and the part the women play in carrying the wheat stalks. It is therefore spoken of [857] by some Kols as a woman's festival. Along with it there are certain [833] activities for the children. Two sticks are set up to represent a man [535] and a woman, and they dance about the sticks and sing some marriage songs. There is also a test of balance, and a long bamboo pole is [526] placed on the ground, and the boys and girls try to see if they can

1. Frazer, J. G., *The Golden Bough*, Vol. I., p. 236 ff.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

that several men had already lost their lives, and others had been injured because they failed to show deference. At any time of the day one who passes this place should get off his cycle, stop, ask permission of the spirit to pass by, then walk with his cycle and mount it again a few paces beyond.

PROTECTIVE MEASURES. Various kinds of devices are used by Kols to ward off the power and effectiveness of the evil eye and the spirit world. The protective remedies commonly employed are listed alphabetically.

Abuse. The abusive language and songs generally used at the time of the wedding have a prophylactic value. There is somehow resident in *gali* a power which protects the bride and groom from evil influences.

Ashes are commonly employed both on religious and social occasions. Immediately after birth the new-born babe is dusted with ashes. They are also scattered over the place of birth, lest the spirits get a portion of the afterbirth and use it against the child and the family. A magic circle of ashes is put around the bed of the mother and her new-born child. When the *nara*, the stump of the umbilical cord, falls off, it is buried in the floor of the house, and a fire which is kept burning over the spot constantly supplies fresh ashes.

Ashes are kept in shrines to frighten evil spirits away. A portion thrown into the air from time to time will be effective in doing this. A fleck of ashes in a child's mouth after feeding with milk keep *bhuts*, who are passionately fond of milk, at a safe distance from the child. The ashes from burnt cow dung cakes are especially useful as are the ashes of wood from the *bel* tree.

Bangles are a protection. The glass types are mostly decorative, but their colours are efficacious as certain colours repel demons. Kols believe that metal bangles are the most effective, particularly the copper and iron types. As *bhuts* may enter through the feet or hands, bangles on the wrists and ankles prevent that way of entry.

Beads about the neck of children are particularly defensive against the evil eye. They should be of bright colours and the Kols most often use a type made from lac. Blue beads about the necks of cattle help to protect them from the evil eye and all valuable animals should be so guarded. A unique charm noted in this connection, though not among the Kols, was that of old bicycle chains fastened about the necks of cattle.

Charcoal, because it is a form of ash and black in colour, is a devil-scarer. Mixed with milk and wine and spread in a circle, it

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[P. 217]

CHAPTER XI

MUSIC, SONGS, DANCE AND ART

The Kol people are passionately fond of music and song. It is not infrequent for them to sing, dance and beat the drum the whole night through. One of the reasons advanced for their living separate from Hindu villages is that it makes it possible for them to sing and play to their hearts' delight without being disturbed or disturbing anyone. The drums as played by the Kols beat with a particularly strident and penetrating note audible from long distances away. A real emotional release is connected with their music and the sense of rhythm felt throughout an evening with them can never be forgotten. The tones seem to pierce to the very marrow of one's being and make the body tingle. Great skill is required in playing the drum and for long periods the pace is kept up without a break. It takes practice, skill and strength to maintain this movement. 533 534 [154]

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS. The Kols make no use of wind instruments nor do they often use the stringed type, although the *sarangi*, a one-stringed instrument, is sometimes seen. They limit themselves to various types of instruments of percussion of which four kinds are chiefly employed by them : 534

1. *The Dholak*. The *dholak* is the favourite instrument of Kols and, in comparison with other types of percussion instruments, it is by far the most frequently used. It is cylindrical in shape and is constructed by a hollowing process from a solid block of wood. Each end is covered with skin stretched out by leathern thongs attached to the shell. The tightening or loosening of the thongs by adjusting a round block of wood under them serves to give the drum its desired pitch. A mixture of wood ash and boiled rice is often applied to the leather to give it more resonance. Both hands are used in playing it, the beats of the two hands usually differing, producing a syncopated beat of a nature difficult to imitate. The illustrations[1] show *dholaks* and the accompanying text figure makes their construction clear. The diameters of each [28 372]

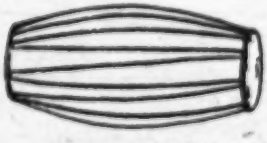

Fig. 28. The Dholak

1 See plate XVIII.

l:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

534 end are about the same, being from nine to twelve inches; the length is generally from twenty to twenty-five inches.

2. *The Timakia or Nagariya.* This instrument is the kettle-
[325] drum and has only the one playing surface. The shell is made out of copper, brass, or iron sheets riveted together. Proper tension of the leather is produced by means of the leathern strap interlaced over the metal. The *timakias* used by Kols, seldom have a head more than twelve to fourteen inches in diameter. They are played along with the *dholak*, but unlike it, the hands are not used upon the leather; the drum is beaten upon by means of two sticks which are sometimes curved.

Various sizes of these two drums are in use, and when more than one is being played they must be tuned up beforehand. Their cost varies from Rs. 1-8-0 to Rs. 5-0-0. Drums are used on all singing occasions: dances, birth, marriage and religious worship. Women never play them for that is the prerogative of the men folk.

[435]

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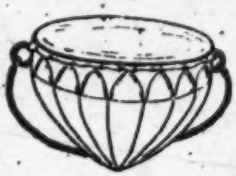

Fig. 29. The Timakia

3. *The Kartel or Kartal.* This is a form of the cymbal, being in reality a cluster of cymbals. A piece of wood twelve to fourteen inches long has built upon it cymbals of varying sizes, so adjusted that they may slide along the stick. The ends of the stick are held in the hands and the whole is shaken at various angles in order to produce modulations of tones. The beat must be exactly that of the drums, hence it is a very difficult instrument to play satisfactorily; but expert players produce a most pleasing effect; in perfect resonance and rhythm.

4. *The Majira* or ordinary cymbals are of various sizes, but the type used by the Kols is usually about four inches in diameter and made of brass. One is held in each hand and they are manipulated so that there is modulation and variations of tone as well as perfect rhythm.

● 533 THE MAIN KINDS OF MELODY AND SONG. There are a number of types of songs sung by Kols, examples of which are found below. The main types and their chief characteristics will be briefly noted. The types vary both in rhythm and content.

1;Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

1. *Dadar* or *Dadra*. This is by far the most common kind sung by Kols and is a well-known melody sung all over northern India. H. A. Popley in his book *The Music of India* says: "The *Ghazal* and the *Dadra* are two Hindustani melodies. They consist as a rule of *Antara* only, sung alike to a simple melody in syncopated time, which is known as Pashto." Kols may sing this form on many occasions and at any time of the day and night, and its use is not limited as certain others are. It is used at the *Chhatthi* rejoicings when the women sing and dance on the sixth day after the birth of a child; it is used throughout the wedding cycle; and may even be used at times of religious worship. Sometimes the words are chaste and beautiful, and again a *dadra* song may contain abuse as is common at the times of weddings.[2] 533 [846] [585] [796]

2. *Bhagat*. This is predominantly the song of worship. Some Kols say it is used for the *devis* and *devtas* while *bhajans* are used for Bhagawan. This does not appear to be the actual practice however. The root of the word is from *bhakti* which means "passionate devotion," and a *bhagat* is generally sung before the gods and goddesses. It is sung when the *jawara* is sown. At times when men become controlled by the *devi* it is this type of song that helps to bring on the emotional excitement resulting in "possession". The words may apply to any occasion and the rhythm varies from the *dadra* and the *rai*.

3. *Bhajans* are religious songs, but are supposed to be addressed to the higher powers, and Bhagawan is generally mentioned. However we found an instance of a *bhajan* being addressed to Sharda.

4. *Rai*. This type implies songs of Krishna and Radha. There are various rhythms in use, but its content, as far as words are concerned, is frequently obscene. Like the two following types it is sung mostly at the *holi* season. [831]

5. *Phag*. This is named from the month of Phagun for it is supposed to be sung only during that particular month, and may be called a spring song. Phagun is the eleventh month in the Hindu year and covers the last half of February and the first half of March. This corresponds with part of the *holi* season, and some say the *phag* type of song should be sung only during the last fifteen days of the season. The contents of the majority of *phag* songs are not respectable and it is very difficult to get one sung for an outsider; they are some- [805]

1 *Op. Cit.*, p. 80.
2 Elwin calls the *Dadaria* the true forest songs of the Baigas. *The Baigas*, p. 438.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

533 what reluctant to repeat them unless they are sung under emotional excitement.

[831] 6. *Kabiri.* This is another obscene type sung mostly at the *holi* season. It is said that the sexual act is described with obscene gestures. Kols say that it is called Kabiri as Kabirdas made and [177] sang them. This is certainly a fiction. There may, however, be some Moslem influence in the songs, though this is open to doubt.[1]

7. *Dohari.* A type of song in which the verses are made up of two lines. The word comes from *doha* meaning a couplet. The full dohari has twelve couplets of two lines each.

8. There have been some other types and varieties of types named by Kols, but no information about them seems to be available and Kols themselves do not know the niceties of them. Among such may be mentioned Kotwerhai, Bhumhai, Kolhai (said to be a form of the *dadar*), Badhwa, Katili, Birha, Bihari, Chhauhar and Barahmasi. Examples of most of these kinds will be found below.

[562] Those songs are sung by both men and women, though on certain occasions one of these groups may do the most of the singing. Women, for example, do all the singing on the sixth night after birth (*Chhatthi*); both sing at the time of wedding; at the periods of special religious worship it is generally the men who do the singing, although it is not unknown for the women to take a part.

KOL SONGS. Most of the songs sung by Kols are composed for special occasions, and the following songs are selected from a number collected by us in our visits among the Kols. They give an interesting insight into the Kol outlook on life. One finds the joys and sorrows of youth and love. An appreciation of nature is also evident, while many of the songs border on what many would consider indecent and questionable. Many songs centre about Ram and his victory over Rawana. Only a few of these are included. In Appendix III brief notations on certain of the songs will be found. The meanings of some of the songs are obscure and in many of them there are insinuations not easily grasped. In some cases only the composers, probably, know to what the songs allude and any translation is far from satisfactory. It is believed that the songs which follow are fairly typical of Kol songs in general. They are arranged topically in the main, though some songs fall into more than one classification. There are six divisions: 1. Songs of Nature; 2. Life: its Joys and Sorrows;

[1] How Kabir's name came to be associated with these songs is a mystery. Kabir's songs are highly respectable and well-thought of. See above page 48.

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3. Love and Intrigue; 4. Songs in Connection with Social Events; 5. Songs of Religion; 6. Some Miscellaneous Songs. 533

I. Songs of Nature 1/A 539

1. Morning. (a)

Suraja ke kirana karhi
Sagabana bana dholenge;
Pankshi bana bolenge,
Kaga bole angana.

When the sun's morning rays flash forth,
All the trees in the forest will quiver;
Then the birds will call in the forest,
And the crow will caw at your door.

2. Morning. (b)

Suraja ke kirana karha,
Chakahi piya milana bhaye;
Pankshi bana bolo gaye,
Kaga bole angana.

As the morning's first rays are drawn out,
Forth goes the Chakahi to its lover;
Then every bird called in the forest,
And the crow cawed loud at the door.

3. The Storm and Lonely Heart.

Purabadisha se uthi badariya,
Jaise hunjar hi rekha;
Nadai barse, nadai garje,
Jhare badal dhanray—
Kari re badariya ghumar ji ley.

From the East march the mighty clouds,
Like a line of elephants they move along:
They rumble and thunder
And pour forth terrifying streams—
And Oh, how they torment and afflict this heart—
Until he come!

1/A [Additional material on this section will be found in cat. 116, pp. 289-292. Analyst]

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Dancing is invariably accompanied by singing and drumming. Liquor is often consumed in connection with it, and in one place, when seeking to see a dance, we were told that they would give an exhibition only if we bought them some liquor. The intoxicated state also lends aid to elopement.

The *dadra* dance is the most popular and most Kol dances are purely *dadras*. On such an occasion the men first gather around in the evening and sing and play for an hour or so. Finally a few women, one to six in number, put on the dancing costume over their *saris*, for without this they will not dance. This costume consists of two pieces: a red and yellow *lahanga*, which is like a dress made of many folds and is tied at the top so that the bottom just sweeps the ground, leaving the feet barely visible. The head is covered with the second portion, the *chunariya*, a shawl made of the same material as the *lahanga*. The shawl is thrown over the head and is held by the left hand so that when the person is standing erect the face is covered. On the feet are *ghunghunis*, ankle bracelets, which make a jingling sound.

After putting on the dancing costume, which is usually done right before those present, the dancers go and stand facing the players. If there are several who are to dance they do not necessarily go at the same time, and when they get there they do not keep together in their movements. While one is standing the other may be whirling. The dancers usually stand for some minutes in silence in front of the players who are singing to them and coaxing them to begin their dance. Then the knee is slightly bowed and the dancer begins to whirl. If one starts this movement in a clockwise direction, that direction is apparently followed by all the dancers, and the other direction is not taken. On the other hand, if they begin with the counter-clockwise movement then that is retained for the evening. On the whole the clockwise movement is favoured and is mostly used, but it is said that there is no hard and fast rule about it. The dancer may turn a number of times, but there is no set number of turns, it must fit into the song. The whirling is not particularly rapid, nor is it done on the heel. Having completed the revolutions the dancer stops, facing the drummers and the male singers, and begins her song. The men cease from their singing, but accompany her on their drums. As the dancer sings she moves by slow steps first to the left and then to the right, but not more than four or five feet in either direction from the original position. As the feet move the legs are shaken so that the anklets make a jingling sound. As a rule the shawl is held closed by the left hand, but when bending over the left hand is kept free, and it is used along with the

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535 right hand to make certain movements with the fingers similar to snapping. The accompanying pictures, show something of the nature
535 of the movements described.[1] The singing, which on this particular occasion was at the time of the *gauna*, was said to be *gali* or abuse.
533 The women frequently started a song and sang two or three lines of the same, while the men remained silent except for their instruments. Then the men would answer in two or three lines and the women remain silent, though frequently making movements with the hands, or turning. Finally they all sang together. The men would frequently stop all of a sudden while a woman sang a solo which sometimes came from one and sometimes from the other dancer.

532 ART AND WORKMANSHIP. Our study of the Kols was disappointing in the results it yielded in the field of art, for we found practically no evidence of Kol art. Nothing which they make or draw or paint seems to be characteristic of them alone, and there is little they do in imitation. They do not ordinarily decorate their houses differently from their Hindu neighbours. Occasionally the doorways have a picture representing a peacock, as indicated on plate XX. The peacock motif was also found on the urns where wheat was stored.
[825] Certain non-Kol houses, however, sometimes had the same symbol. There is apparently no taboo connected with the peacock, and the work was said to be entirely decorative. At the *holi* season the walls of the house which face the courtyard are frequently decorated with various figures. Plate XXI gives an idea of how this is done, and the drawing on the wall contains representations of tigers,
[562] peacocks, birds, sunflowers, men, flowers in a pot, and a house. It was said that women and boys do this work, never the men.

463 Kols seem to be deficient in handiworks of any sort. They
285 never make baskets, wooden dishes, *dholaks*, beads nor ornaments;
301 they do no sewing, nor making of clothes nor embroidery work. The
322 mattress makers, the Kathariyas, come the nearest to having a handi-
294 craft, but it is not generally practised even by them. Most Kols will
296 mend clothes, if necessary, and this is mostly done by the men. There is the usual great need for handicrafts so sadly undeveloped in rural
283 India. Occasionally they make their own beds and cots, and rope
312 for them is obtained from the stalks of rice called *bagai*. Such ropes are also used for drawing water from the well. Sometimes they
324 fashion their own grinding mills from flattish stones by a chipping process. The children have no toys with which to play and none are
524 constructed for them by their parents. Boys sometimes make a very
857 inferior type of bow and arrow with which to hunt birds.

1 See plate XIX.

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among the most illiterate of the land. Up till now Christian Missions have started no work among them and there has been no attempt from any quarter to give them adequate facilities and opportunities whereby they may make some cultural advancement. There is great need for the improvement of their social and economic environment.

It would be wrong, however, to assume that the Kols are indifferent or that their aspirations are dormant. There are stirrings among them, which, unfortunately, have been taken advantage of by unscrupulous people. They are seeking for religious recognition, and we have traced two attempts, one near Jubbulpore, and the other near Katni, to erect Kol "temples". In both cases wide appeals were circulated and fairly large sums of money collected. In the first case not a single stone was laid and some thousands of rupees were swindled. Near Katni they had got as far as the foundation and plinth when the funds gave out.[1] We were accompanied by five Kols to this project about which they were very enthusiastic. Our interest in it stimulated them greatly. They complained that nobody cared for Kols and that Hindus thought of them as coolies who had no self-respect; so they wanted to show the world that they are really worthy of recognition. They were very self-conscious about this matter. It was said that if they can only reveal their real spirit and show that they are truly interested in religious things, then Hindus must respect them and no longer despise them. They showed a pathetic eagerness for this recognition and were pleased with our visit. They made the claim that so far, not one person outside their own community, had shown the least concern for their welfare, and that in spite of their conscientious and earnest work, no one recognized nor knew them.

As a tribe the Kols are self-respecting and industrious. They are cheerful in disposition and greatly enjoy social fellowship. We found them open-hearted and ready to answer questions when once their confidence had been gained. Like most primitive tribes they are honest and trustworthy. That they have deep emotional feelings can be seen from their music and songs. They enjoy nothing better than a long evening of song and drum. We found but little evidence of their disobedience to the rules of the tribal codes of morality.

Taken all in all the Kols are a lovable people and as one comes into intimate contact with them he feels that much ought to be done to alleviate many of the difficulties and handicaps under which they bravely carry on.

In their case it is difficult to make recommendations for the future. For years Kols have been gradually losing their identity as an

1 See plate XXVIII.

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Appendix III

NOTES ON POETRY IN CHAPTER XI[1]

I. Songs of Nature.

1. A *dohārī* from Katni. The theme of love is also set forth. The crow is symbolical of an ordinary human being.

2. The chakahī-chakā (or Chakhī-chakvā) (*casarca rutila*) birds are a pair supposed to be under an eternal curse. During the day they may stay together and sport in the river, but when night comes they must be separated and stay apart from one another. A *dohārī* from Katni.

3. A *dādrā* from Imalhapur village.

4. A *dohārī* from Katni.

Belā: a kind of jasmin. *Chameli*: a creeper of the jasmin type.

Sarangī: a one-stringed country violin.

Sitār: an instrument usually having seven strings.

5. A *birhā* or forest song. This is sung as one walks through the forest and no musical instrument is used to accompany it. The woman is anxious about her husband whom she calls her lord.

II. Life: its Joys and Sorrows.

1. This song is a *rdī* from Sihora.

2. The 'green month' is *Sāwan*, which corresponds to the last half of July and the first half of August. The rains by this time have set in well and the heat-scorched landscape has been transformed. It is of the *dādrā* type of song and comes from Barela.

3. A *dādrā* from Katni.

4. A wedding *dohārī* from the village of Salavara. This song and others like it are used to tease the bridegroom. Here the girl is said to protest the choice of a mate for her.

5. A *dādrā* from Katni.

6. Called '*bārāhmāsī*.' 'A twelve-month song.' Sung by women who have to stay at home while their husbands go afar for work. This song is from Katni and comes from a woman. There are only ten of the Hindi months named here: Sāwan and Pūs are omitted by the singer, probably by error. The Hindi months are as follows—

Āṣāṛā	..	June-July.
Sāwan	..	July-August (omitted in the poem).
Bhādon	..	August-September.
Kunwār	..	September-October.
Kātika	..	October-November.
Agahana	..	November-December.
Pūs	..	December-January (omitted above).
Māgha	..	January-February.

[1] [The native texts of songs and poetry will be found on pp. 221-244.—Analyst]

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Phāgun	..	February-March.
Chaita	..	March-April.
Baishākha	..	April-May.
Jeṭh	..	May-June.

III. LOVE AND INTRIGUE.

1. A *dādrā* from Katni. The *loṭā* is a brass vessel used for carrying liquids. A cord is frequently tied about its neck and it is lowered into a well in order to bring up water. See note on 6, 7 below.

2. A *kāfilī* from Imalhapur. This is a teasing song and in this case the *kafilī* is addressed to a young maid of beauty. The *pānwālīā* prepares and sells the *pān*, a mixture of betel nut, lime and tobacco wrapped in Piper leaves (*Piper betel*).

3. A *dādrā* from Katni.

4. A *dādrā* sung at the wedding season: from Jubbulpore. The suspicious husband is assured that his wife's smiles and blushes are innocent, and are directed to no other man. The first line should be repeated four times.

5. A *dīdār* from Katni. The *dhīmar* is a member of the fisherman caste, but is used in another sense.

6, 7. These are both *dādrās* from Katni. The symbolism of these two songs is perhaps obvious. Sexual matters are referred to by the men as entering a house, as a lotus on a pond or in terms of getting water from the well.

8. A *rāī* from Katni.

9. A *biyā*, or wedding song; sung at the time of the circumambulation of the sacred post. From Salavara. The terms of relationship are noted in the text of the translation. The intrigue is rather complicated and it is evident that the mother-in-law, who ought to be on her guard, is a simpleton and does not realize what is going on. The symbolism is apparent.

IV. SONGS OF SOCIAL EVENTS.

1. This song is called *chhanhar* as it is sung on the sixth night after the birth of a child. The woman complains that the in-laws care nothing for her birth-pangs. Given by women near Katni.

2. A *badhwā*, a song sung by women when a male child is born. The song is kept up for long periods and is repeated again and again. It is essentially a song of congratulation. Ayodhya was the place of Ram's birth. This song given by women near Katni.

3. Another *chhanhar* or sixth-night song from Katni. A Kajali forest (dense—black as *kajal*) is one inhabited by elephants. The swing has a sexual symbolism.

4. A *dādrā* from Imalhapur. The *Pūrabiyās* are dwellers in the eastern parts. There is a Purbiya subdivision of Chamars. (Briggs, *op. cit.* page 24). The *Baghels* are men of Baghelkhand.

5. A *rāī* from Katni.

6. A marriage *dādrā* from Barela and sung as a teasing song. *Marawā* or *marhwā*: the wedding booth.